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THE
MN OF CLEANTHES
GREEK TEXT TRANSLATED INTO
ENGLISH

WITH BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A.

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LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1921

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THE HYMN OF CLEANTHES

NOTE ON CLEANTHES AND THE STOICS.

CLEANTHES, the Stoic philosopher, was born at Assos, in the Troad, about the year 331 B.C. and died at an advanced age in 232 B.C. The successor to Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, he was president of the Stoa for over thirty years and was himself succeeded by Chrysippus. He was evidently a man of profound earnestness and masterful energy, combining strong intellectual convictions with deep religious feeling.

Like all the great teachers of his school, he must be reckoned as a pantheist, though (as Taylor notes, *Ancient Ideals*, i. 376) Stoic emotions about the divine are diverse, often vague, springing from a deep-seated reverence for all-ruling "law" (call it what we will—Destiny, Nature, Zeus, Providence, or the Universal Reason). In Stoicism, though in some respects Cleanthes revolutionized the study of physics, which he regarded as giving the surest rule for human conduct generally, the main interest of the creed lies in its moral postulates. Physics is to be regarded as the scaffolding of ethics.

Among the great prophets of ancient Israel religion became at once "universal and individual, centred in the inner life of the subject" (Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, ii. 119); and a not dissimilar process of development may be traced in the philosophy of Stoicism. From the first it was a religious philosophy, and it is here that it makes its supreme appeal.

Stoicism, as Grant has shown (*Ethics of Aristotle*), was

cf. n. b.
37, 38.
also p. 5. below.

less a genuine product of Hellenic thought than an importation from the East. It represented a synthesis between Hellenism and Oriental speculation. Not one of the greater Stoic teachers was a native of Greece proper. It is worth remembering that the Apostle Paul's birthplace, Tarsus, was a stronghold of the creed of the Stoics; and there is no reason to suppose that Paul was a stranger to their tenets.¹ Lactantius (*Institutes*, iv. 9) admits that Zeno had anticipated certain features of Christian teaching: "Zeno rerum naturæ dispositorem atque opificem universitatis λόγον prædicat"; and the words in Heb. ii. 10 have a distinctly Stoic flavour: δι' ὅν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα (God is the final and efficient cause of all things).² Certainly the Stoic system foreshadowed the doctrine of a true brotherhood of man.

What was peculiar to Stoicism was its constant insistence on Morality, and its "grim earnestness and devout submission to the divine will." Virtue, in that system, is alone good; vice bad; all other things are ἀδιάφορα (indifferent). It was in a strictly practical spirit that Stoic ethics was developed by the Romans, as we see in Seneca; but the later Stoicism, confronted with the facts of life, had in some points to soften the rigid outlines of earlier theory, just because the idealism and the pessimism of that earlier theory were fatal to any effort of moral reform; "the cold, flawless perfection of triumphant reason was an impossible model, which could only discourage and repel aspirants to the higher life" (Dill, *Roman Society*, bk. iii., chap. i.). There was no room in such an austere doctrine for the

¹ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 616. Hicks, *Greek Phil. in N.T.*, p. 94.

² For traces of Stoicism in the Pauline Epistles, see the illuminating discussion by Lightfoot, "St. Paul and Seneca," in his edition of the *Philippians*. We might instance two thoughts, at least, which show that Paul did owe something to Stoicism: (1) αὐτάρκεια (2 Cor. vi. 10), (2) the worldwide city of God (Eph. ii. 19, Col. iii. 11).

Christian virtue of humility or of pity ; there the system broke down.

Some of the paradoxes of the "Porch" (notably the crowning paradox of the "Sapiens," the ideal wise man—an impossible figure) are keenly ridiculed by Horace (*Sat.* I. iii. 124 *sqq.*, II. iii. *passim*, vii. 83 *sqq.* "The Christian's Ideal Figure could never be accepted by the Stoic as an example of his typical Wise Man" [E. R. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, p. 70]); but, in his later years, it is probable that Horace learnt to appreciate better the doctrine of the Stoics and to view their system with more sympathy.¹

The pantheism² of the later Stoics tended, it is clear, more and more towards theism ; God had become to these philosophers (Epicurus is a case in point) less of an abstraction, more and more of a "living presence"; we may do well to remember the famous motto which Seneca lays down as a rule of life in his tenth letter.³ And closely bound up with its doctrine of God is the Stoic doctrine of immortality. True, the older Stoics permitted themselves little more than the hope of a *limited* immortality; but their thought of Death was far from that of a mere extinction (as we find it set forth in Eastern speculation); rather death was the resolution of man's earthly nature into its original elements—a dissolution of the body—while the animating principle, the soul, returns to its native birthplace "in the heavens." We may compare Virgil's line (*Aen.* vi. 730),

¹ See D'Alton, *Horace and his Age*, pp. 84 *sqq.*, 133 *sqq.*, for proofs of this changed attitude.

² The Stoic conception that God is in all things is balanced by that of the Neo-Platonists, whose root principle is that all things are in God. For the attitude of Plotinus towards Stoicism consult Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. i. There is a brief, but valuable, discussion of Stoicism in its connexion with Christian ethics and theology in Lake and Foakes-Jackson's *The Beginnings of Christianity*, part i., pp. 246 *sqq.* (1920).

³ "So live with men as if God saw you ; so speak with God as if men heard you" (Lightf., *Essay on "St. Paul and Seneca,"* Philipp.,⁶ pp. 279 *sqq.*).

"igneus est ollis vigor et cælestis origo," with the solemn words of Eccles. xii. 7.

What the position of Cleanthes really was, in the sphere of religion, we can never fully ascertain; we possess his teaching only in fragments, and we cannot properly judge a thinker by the *disjecta membra* of his philosophy. But we seem to discover in Cleanthes, when we read his hymn¹ (was it written in early, middle, or later life?), a genuinely religious man, "bent on giving a theological interpretation of the world, and breathing a pious submission to the world-order which it is refreshing to feel and come in contact with" (Davidson, *The Stoic Creed*, p. 27). Notwithstanding the materialism apparent in his physical speculations, "he can yet infuse into his submission to the cosmic order such an amount of willing acquiescence as to give the impression of the deepest religious feeling" (*ib.*, p. 229).² Lightfoot was justified in calling his hymn the noblest expression of heathen devotion which Greek literature has preserved to us. Nothing quite so impressive, of its kind, was ever again to appear in pagan history till, nearly half a millennium later, Stoicism was destined to produce its final and exquisite fruit in the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

GREEK TEXT OF THE HYMN.

Κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς ἀεὶ¹
Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν,
χαῖρε· σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾶν.
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, ἐνδὸς³ μίμημα λαχόντες

¹ Which may be regarded as a summary of his whole theology.

² An ethical fervour of a high order is shown in the lines of Cleanthes (frag. 45) quoted by Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica*, 679c (ed. Gifford, 1903). [See "Added Note," p. 16.]

³ The MS. has ἥχον, which gives no sense. Bergk conjectures ὅλον. W. L. Newman conjectures ἀγοῦ (from ἀγῆs=a leader).

5 μοῦνον, ὅσα ζώει τε καὶ ἔρπει θυῆτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.
 τῷ σε καθυμνήσω, καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν ἀείσω.
 σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν
 πειθεῖται, ἢ κεν ἄγγει, καὶ ἐκῶν ὑπὸ σεῖο κρατεῖται·
 τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποεργὸν ἀνικήτοις ἐνὶ χερσὶν
 10 ἀμφήκη, πυρόεντα, ἀειζώοντα κεραυνόν.
 τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πληγῆς φύσεως πάντ' ἐρρίγασιν,
 ϕ σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον ὃς διὰ πάντων
 φοιτᾷ, μιγνύμενος μεγάλοις μικροῖς τε φάεσσιν,
 ὡς τόσσος γεγαώς, ὑπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός.
 15 οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα, δαῖμον,
 οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον οὔτ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
 πλὴν δπόσα ρέξουσι κακοὶ σφετέρησιν ἀνοίαις.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ τὰ περιστὰ ἐπίστασαι ἄρτια θεῖαι,
 καὶ κοσμεῖν τὰ ἄκοσμα, καὶ οὐ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἐστίν.
 20 ὥδε γὰρ εἰς ἐν ἄπαντα συνήρμοκας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,
 ὥσθ' ἔνα γίγνεσθαι πάντων λόγον αἰὲν ἐόντα,
 ὃν φεύγοντες ἐώσιν ὅσοι θητῶν κακοί εἰσι,
 δύσμοροι, οἵ τ' ἀγαθῶν μὲν ἀεὶ κτῆσιν ποθέοντες
 οὔτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον, οὔτε κλύουσιν,
 25 ϕ κεν πειθόμενοι σὺν τῷ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν.
 αὐτοὶ δ' αὐθ' ὁρμῶσιν ἄνευ καλοῦ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα,
 οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης σπουδὴν δυσέριστον ἔχοντες,
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κερδοσύνας τετραμμένοι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,
 ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σώματος ἡδεῖα ἔργα,
 30 σπεύδοντες μάλα πάμπαν ἐναντία τῶνδε γενέσθαι.
 ἀλλὰ Ζεῦ πάνδωρε, κελαινεφές, ἀρχικέραυνε,
 ἀνθρώπους ρύουσα ἀπειροσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς,
 ἦν σύ, πάτερ, σκέδαστον ψυχῆς ἄπο, δὸς δὲ κυρῆσαι
 γνώμης, ἢ πίσυνος σὺ δίκης μέτα πάντα κυβερνᾶς,
 35 ὄφρ' ἀν τιμηθέντες ἀμειβώμεσθά σε τιμῆ,
 ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές, ὡς ἐπέοικε
 θητῶν ἐόντ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλο τι μεῖζον,
 οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν ἀεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν.

TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK TEXT.

Most glorious of Immortals, mighty God,
Invoked by many a name, O sovran King
Of universal Nature, piloting
This world in harmony with Law,—all hail !
Thce it is meet that mortals should invoke,
For we Thine offspring are, and sole of all
Created things that live and move on earth
Reeeive from Thee the image of the One.
Therefore I praise Thee, and shall hymn Thy power
Unceasingly. Thee the wide world obeys,
As onward ever in its course it rolls
Where'er Thou guidest, and rejoices still
Beneath Thy sway : so strong a minister
Is held by Thine unconquerable hands,—
That two-edged thunderbolt of living fire
That never fails. Under its dreadful blow
All Nature reels ; therewith Thou dost direct
The Universal Reason which, commixt
With all the greater and the lesser lights,
Moves thro' the Universe. How great Thou art,
The Lord supreme for ever and for aye!
No work is wrought apart from Thee, O God,
Or in the world, or in the heaven above,
Or on the deep, save only what is done
By sinners in their folly. Nay, Thou canst
Make the rough smooth, bring wondrous order forth
From chaos ; in Thy sight unloveliness
Seems beautiful ; for so Thou hast fitted things
Together, good and evil, that there reigns
One everlasting Reason in them all.
The wicked heed not this, but suffer it
To slip, to their undoing ; these are they

Who, yearning ever to secure the good,
Mark not nor hear the law of God, by wise
Obedience unto which they might attain
A nobler life, with Reason harmonized.
But now, unbid, they pass on divers paths
Each his own way, yet knowing not the truth,—
Some in unlovely striving for renown,
Some bent on lawless gains, on pleasure some,
Working their own undoing, self-deceived.
O Thou most bounteous God that sittest throned
In clouds, the Lord of lightning, save mankind
From grievous ignorance ! Oh, scatter it
Far from their souls, and grant them to achieve
True knowledge, on whose might Thou dost rely
To govern all the world in righteousness ;
That so, being honoured, we may Thee requite
With honour, chanting without pause Thy deeds,
As all men should : since greater guerdon ne'er
Befalls or man or god than evermore
Duly to praise the Universal Law.

ARGUMENT OF THE HYMN.¹

(1) Cleanthes feels himself akin to the divine, and therefore worthy to hold communion with it ; (2) he expresses his admiration for, and submission to, the divine order of the world ; (3) he recognizes that the moral evil in the world is the result not of fate but of man's freewill ; (4) he prays God to free human souls from ignorance ; and (5) closes with an apostrophe in praise of God's law.

¹ [NOTE.—The editor is indebted to various writers for valuable suggestions embodied in his introduction and notes ; but a general acknowledgement must here suffice.—February, 1921.]

COMMENTARY.

1. $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\epsilon$: most of the “di majores” are called $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\mu\mu\circ\iota$ by the poets (*e.g.*, Dionysus, with his sixty titles: he was distinctly $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\iota\delta\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ καὶ $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\circ\phi\circ\sigma$, Plut. *Moralia*, 389^c). Cf. Theocr. xv. 109 (Aphrodite), $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\mu\epsilon$ καὶ $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\epsilon$. So Artemis is designated in Aristophanes by the titles Dictynna, Agrotera, Pandrosus, Phosphorus, Tauropolis: Rogers on *Wasps*, 368, Ellis on Catull. xxxiv. 21, sis quocunque tibi placet | sancta nomine. In Babylonian mythology the god of Babylon received the names, attributes, and powers of the older deities (Merodach or Mardûk = Ea = Hadad = Sin: cf. Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, 1902, p. 329); similarly Egyptian theology saw in the various gods mere forms of one divinity (for example, Nu = Temu = Rā). As Rā was the father of the gods, every god in the Egyptian pantheon represents some phase of him, and he represents every god: Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, chap. iii.). In the *Rig-Veda* (i. 164, 46) one poet says: “That which is *One* the sages name in various ways —Agni, Yama, Mātarisvan.” The thoughtful Hindu of to-day looks through the maze of his mythology to the philosophical background of the One eternal self-existent Being in whose unity all visible symbols are gathered (Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, chap. i.). For a note on $\pi\circ\lambda\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\mu\mu\circ\iota$ see Sykes and Allen on Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, 18. The word appears to have possessed a special significance from the Stoic standpoint, as Diogenes Laertius indicates. The concept implied in ll. 1, 2 is criticized by St. Basil, *Hexam. Hom.* i. On $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\gamma\gamma\circ\sigma$, cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 840.

2. $\nu\circ\mu\circ\nu$: cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. 36, Zeno naturalem legem divinam esse putat eamque vim obtinere (= $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota$) recta imperantem prohibentemque contraria. Heraclitus was the first to identify the law of nature with the will of

God: frag. 91, *τρέφονται πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπινοι νόμοι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ θείου*. This view was adopted by the Roman jurists (*cf.* Cie. *de Legg.* ii. 8, “law is no device of man”); and Wordsworth in his *Ode to Duty* has made the thought current coin—“stern daughter of the voice of God, O Duty!” Cleanthes is several times referred to in Cie. *de Nat. Deor.*—*e.g.* ii. § 13, iii. § 16 (see J. B. Mayor’s notes): *cf.* also Minucius, 19, § 10.

κυβερνῶν: *cf.* l. 29. Parmenides, frag. 12, (in the midst of these circles is the) δαίμων ἡ πάντα κυβερνᾷ, viz. the dea genetrix (Aphrodite, acc. to Plut. *Amator*. 13; but *cf.* Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 2nd ed., § 94). For *κυβερνᾶν* in metaph. sense, see n. in Lightfoot, *Ignat.*² (*Polyc.* ii.).

4. *ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν*: see Acts xvii. 28, where the words are given *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*. St. Paul may have derived them directly from the *Φαινόμενα* of Aratus of Soli (in Cilicia), *flor.* 270 B.C.; but probably they were almost proverbial in the Apostle’s day. The human reason, according to Aratus, is a “fragment” of the divine; it is the doctrine of divine immanence. Man’s moral sense is an “efflux of God,” “a particle (*ἀπόσπασμα*) of Zeus,” and so far is one with the moral movement of the universe (*cf.* G. H. Rendall, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself*, Introd., p. cxxix): *cf.* Eurip. frag. 1007, *ὅνοις γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἔκαστῳ θεός*. There is a curious parallel to be found in the so-called ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗCOY (from an early Greek papyrus discovered nearly twenty-five years ago): [Jesus said] *ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον κάκει εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον κάγῳ ἐκεῖ εἰρί* (*cf.* Matt. xviii. 20, John xiv. 20, and other passages quoted in Lock and Sanday’s ed., 1897). Compare William Watson, *The Unknown God*:

“The God I know of I shall ne’er
Know, though he dwells exceeding nigh :
Raise thou the stone and find me there,
Cleave thou the wood, and there am I.”

We may recall here the Orphic lines :

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο,
Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος,
Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα
Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.

The pantheistic sense of the word Ζεύς (v. 2) ought not to be overlooked. God, in the Stoic creed, was not personal (in the Christian sense), but an unknown living Power immanent in Nature—*natura naturans, εἰμαρμένη, νοῦς*.

$\epsilon\nu\delta s\ \mu\acute{im}\eta\mu\alpha$: see Driver on Gen. i. 3. Philo describes the spirit (the essence of man's rational part) as a "figure and impress of divine power," and goes on to say $\mu\acute{im}\eta\mu\alpha\ kai\ \acute{\alpha}peukónism\alpha\ \acute{a}n\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma$ (i.e. φύσεως λογικῆς of which God is the ἀρχέτυπον); cf. Musonius *ap.* Stob. $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\ou\ \delta\epsilon\ \acute{a}n\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\ \mu\acute{im}\eta\mu\alpha\ \mu\acute{e}n\ \theta\epsilon\ou\ \mu\acute{o}n\ou\ \tau\acute{a}n\ \acute{e}pi\gamma\acute{e}i\ou\ \acute{e}s\tau\acute{i}n$. Clem. Rom. speaks of man as an impress of the divine image (*ad Cor.* i. 33; cf. *Heb.* i. 3); so in *Wisd.* ii. 23 we read, "God created man to be immortal and made him to be an image of His own eternity" (proper being, R.V.). Plat. *Tim.* 37^c develops this thought. For the sense cf. Hom. *Il.* xvii. 447, *Olyss.* xviii. 131.

6. Cf. Ps. exlv. 1. Aratus, *Phænom.* 1, $\acute{e}k\ \Delta\iota\delta s\ \acute{a}r\chi\acute{a}m\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\ \tau\acute{a}n\ o\acute{u}d\acute{e}p\acute{o}t\ \acute{a}n\delta\rho\es\ \acute{e}\w\mu\epsilon\n\ |\ \acute{a}r\rho\eta\tau\ou$.

7. Cleanthes seems here to be endeavouring to interpret the Cynic formula, "live agreeably to nature" ($\acute{o}m\o\logou\mu\acute{e}n\ou\ \tau\acute{a}n\ \acute{f}\acute{u}se\i$). But in his hands it gets an added meaning, for in nature ($\phi\acute{u}si\acute{s}$)—whether the nature of things or man's inward nature—the Stoic doctor finds a common reason ($\lambda\acute{o}g\ou\acute{s}$) and a common law ($\nu\acute{o}m\ou\acute{s}$). See James Seth's *Study of Ethical Principles* (chapter on "Rigorism"); Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, lect. i.

We may illustrate the religious attitude of Cleanthes still further by the lines reproduced by Epictetus (*Enchirid.* 53):

ἄγου δ' μ', ὁ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη
ὅποι ποθ' ὑμὸν εἴμι διατεταγμένος.
ὡς ἔψομαι γ' δοκνος· ἦν δὲ μὴ θέλω
κακὸς γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔψομαι.

Thus rendered by Seneca (*Ep. 107, § 10*):

duc, O parens celsique dominator poli,
quocumque placuit: nulla parendi mora est.
Adsum impiger, fac nolle: comitabor gemens
malusque patiar facere quod licuit bono.
ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

The lines are by way of answer to the objection that *πρόνοια* cannot exist with the doctrine of freewill.

9. ἀντικήτοις: Hom. *Il.* viii. 30; Soph. *O.C.* 1515; Job xlvi. 2.

10. κεραυνόν: from Homer onward the weapon of Zeus (κεραυνοφόρος, κεραυνοῦχος, tonans, tonitrualis). Heracl. frag. 20 with Bywater's reff., *ib.* 28, τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός: Ritter-Preller, 28. κεραυνός was a semi-oracular word for fire: "The peculiar kind of matter forming, as it were, the body of the Logos, Her. believes to be fire" (Adam, *Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 223). According to Cleanthes the "Logos" was eternal, and so it was conceived by Heraclitus himself; "it" was without beginning or end, piloting (*οἰακίζει*) all things through all, like a wary steersman.

For ll. 9-13 cf. Heb. iv. 12 (Westcott).

12. κοινὸν λόγον: Ritter-Preller (ed. 7, 1888), 398 (c). In Plotinus the word *λόγος* has several shades of meaning—Reason, Creative power (or activity), etc., Inge, *Phil. of Plotinus*, i. 156. In Philo we find the *λόγος* separated from the supreme God, and it is frequently personified (as in N.T., John i. 14), becoming the immanent reality of the world (not unlike the Socratean conception of God as *ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φρόνησις*, Wordsworth's "Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe": Adam, *loc. cit.*, p. 371). In Cleanthes' hymn, as generally in Stoicism, the world is permeated by

Reason, which is ethical, not merely intellectual. The emphasis on *kouros* should not be overlooked. The great masters of Stoicism were cosmopolitan in their outlook, as they were in origin. The *kourovía* of the Universe is a familiar thought with them; all men share in the universal reason of God (the world-soul), subject to a *common* law and a *common* citizenship. In the *Meditations* of M. Aurelius it is not without significance that the word *kouros* (and its compounds) occurs more than eighty times: Dill, *Roman Society*, pp. 324 sq.; G. H. Rendall, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. xxxvii. Observe how the author of 4 Maccabees would enlist the Stoic doctrine in the service of Jewish philosophy.

13. διὰ πάντων φούτρα: Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey*, (a Presence) "that rolls thro' all things."

14. ὑπατός: often in Homer as an epithet of Zeus.

15. Cf. John i. 3. For δαιμον cf. Bacchyl. iii. 37, ὑπέρβει δαιμον (of Zeus).

16-18. Nature is here put under the immediate government of the deity.

17-20. Evil is not directly due to God, but a necessary accompaniment of the process by which He created the world out of Himself. Cleanthes appears to argue somewhat as Browning would do: cf. Plat. *Rep.* ii. 379c, οὐδὲ ἄπα δὲ θεός κ.τ.λ.; Eccles. vii. 13 foll. (and Tyler's Introd. to his ed. of Eccles., p. 73, ed. 2). The hymn is throughout inspired by the consciousness that it is one spiritual power which penetrates and controls the Universe, and is the source of every work done under the sun, "except what evil men do in their folly." Caird, *Evol. of Relig. in Greek Philosophers*, ii. 76; E. R. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, p. 54.

18. περισσά > < αρτια, odd)(even (i.e. the reconciliation of opposites): cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 451c; Ritter-Preller, 53, 55.

19. Cf. Heracl. frag. 61, *τῷ μὲν θεῷ καλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια, ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἂ μὲν ἀδικα ὑπειλήφασιν, ἂ δὲ δίκαια.*

21. The everlastingness of the Logos: cf. Heracl. frag. 2. Similarly M. Antoninus. Cf. Butler, *Sermon xv.*

24. Cf. Heracl. frag. 101, quoted in *n.* on l. 2.

28. οὐδὲν κόσμῳ = ἀτάκτως, recklessly.

29. ἀνεστιν = *indulgence.* Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 561^a.

30. The text is very uncertain here, and I am not sure that I have grasped the sense. Perhaps = “bringing about the opposite of what they wish.”

31. πάνδωρε: epithet of Earth, Fate (Bacchyl. frag. 20). Cf. the (hexameter) line in Jas. i. 17, *πᾶσα δόσις κ.τ.λ.*, with which we may quote the words in Plat. *Euthyp.* 18, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι ἀν μὴ ἐκεῖνοι (*i.e.* the gods) δῶσιν.

κελαῖνεφές: Homeric epithet. Cf. Ps. xcvi. 2-4.

32. ἀπειροσύνης = ἀγνοίας (the condition of the φαῦλοι).

33. σκέδασον: in the Platonic philosophy ignorance is the source of evil. With this and the next line cf. Heracl. frag. 19, *ἐν τῷ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην ή κυβερνᾶται πάντα διὰ πάντων.* Plutarch's *κυβερνήσις θεού*.

37, 38. Cf. the celebrated words with which Hooker concludes the first book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. The Stoics seem to have been the first to introduce into morals the concept of Law—“which is law for man because it is the law of the universe”: Acton, *Hist. of Freedom in Antiquity*, pp. 24, 25. In many respects the Stoic teaching is the nearest approach to Christianity. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, p. 117; Gwatkin, *Church Hist.* i. pp. 22, 23. Similarly among the Jews the law (Torah) was the revelation in time of what is timeless and eternal.

The reader should carefully compare the lines in Soph. *O.T.* 863 *sqq.* (of the immutable order of law): cf. *El.* 1093 *sqq.*, *Ajax*, 1130 *sqq.*, 1343 *sqq.* The whole argument of the

Antigone turns on the conflict between divine law and human ordinance; and, as we know, these rival principles often come into sharp conflict: August. *Conf.* iii. 8 (an important chapter); Thomas Aquinas, *Summa c. Gentiles*, chaps. cxvi., cxxvii., who points out, however, that the *terminus ad quem* of all divine law is the love of God. Cf. the noble words of Dante (*Paradiso*):

E la sua voluntate è nostra pace.

ADDED NOTE.

The passage in Eusebius runs thus:

Τάγαθὸν ἐρωτᾶς μ' οἷον ἔστ' ; ἀκουε δῆ.
Τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, δσιον, εὐτεβέσ,
κρατοῦν ἔαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον,
αύστηρόν, αύθέκαστον, δεισύμφερον,
διφοβον, δλυπον, λυσιτελέσ, ἀνώδυνον,
ώφελιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλέσ, φίλον,
ἔντιμον, ὁμολογούμενον, . . .
εὐκλεέσ, δτυφον, ἐπιμελέσ, πρᾶον. σφοδρόν,
χρονιζόμενον, ἀμεμπτον, ἀελ διαμένον,

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